

June 21, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

13637

Helstoski  
Henderson  
Hollfield  
Hosmer  
Howard  
Hull  
Hungate  
Huot  
Hutchinson  
Ichord  
Jacobs  
Jarman  
Joelson  
Johnson, Calif.  
Johnson, Pa.  
Jonas  
Jones, Ala.  
Jones, Mo.  
Karsten  
Kastenmeier  
Keith  
Keogh  
King, Calif.  
King, N.Y.  
King, Utah  
Klirwan  
Kornegay  
Krebs  
Kunkel  
Laird  
Langen  
Latta  
Lennon  
Lipscomb  
Long, La.  
McClory  
McCulloch  
McDade  
McFalls  
McGrath  
McMillan  
Macdonald  
MacGregor  
Machen  
Mackay  
Madden  
Mahon  
Malliard  
Marsh  
Martin, Ala.  
Martin, Nebr.  
Mathias  
Matsunaga  
Matthews  
Meeds  
Michel  
Mills  
Minish

Mink  
Mize  
Moeller  
Monagan  
Moore  
Moorhead  
Morgan  
Morris  
Morrison  
Morse  
Morton  
Murphy, Ill.  
Murray  
Natcher  
Nelsen  
O'Brien  
O'Hara, Ill.  
O'Hara, Mich.  
O'Konski  
Olson, Minn.  
O'Neal, Ga.  
Ottinger  
Passman  
Patman  
Patten  
Pelly  
Pepper  
Perkins  
Pickle  
Poage  
Poff  
Pool  
Powell  
Price  
Purcell  
Quie  
Race  
Reddin  
Reid, Ill.  
Reid, N.Y.  
Reifel  
Reinecke  
Rhodes, Ariz.  
Rhodes, Pa.  
Roberts  
Robison  
Rodino  
Rogers, Colo.  
Rogers, Fla.  
Roman  
Rooney, N.Y.  
Roosevelt  
Roudebush  
Roybal  
Rumsfeld  
Satterfield  
Scheuer  
Schneebell

Schweiker  
Scott  
Secrest  
Selden  
Sennner  
Shriver  
Sickles  
Sikes  
Sisk  
Skubitz  
Slack  
Smith, Calif.  
Smith, Iowa  
Smith, N.Y.  
Smith, Va.  
Springer  
Stafford  
Staggers  
Stalbaum  
Stanton  
Stratton  
Stubblefield  
Sullivan  
Sweeney  
Talcott  
Taylor  
Teague, Calif.  
Teague, Tex.  
Tenzler  
Thompson, La.  
Thompson, Tex.  
Thomson, Wis.  
Todd  
Trimble  
Tuck  
Tunney  
Tupper  
Tuten  
Udall  
Ullman  
Utt  
Van Deerlin  
Vanik  
Vigorito  
Vivian  
Walker, Miss.  
Walker, N. Mex.  
Watts  
White, Idaho  
White, Tex.  
Whitener  
Widnall  
Wright  
Wyatt  
Wylder  
Yates  
Young  
Younger

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—136

Abernethy  
Adams  
Andrews, N. Dak.  
Barrett  
Bates  
Betts  
Boland  
Bolling  
Bonner  
Bow  
Brademas  
Bray  
Brock  
Broomfield  
Brown, Calif.  
Brown, Ohio  
Byrnes, Wis.  
Cahill  
Carey  
Casey  
Celler  
Chamberlain  
Cleveland  
Colmer  
Conable  
Conyers  
Cooley  
Cramer  
Culver  
Cunningham  
Curtin  
Devine  
Dickinson  
Diggs  
Duski  
Edwards, Calif.  
Ellsworth  
Evans, Colo.  
Farnsley  
Findley  
Fino

Fogarty  
Fraser  
Frelinghuysen  
Garmatz  
Gialmo  
Grabowski  
Gray  
Griffin  
Griffiths  
Gubser  
Gurney  
Hall  
Halpern  
Hanna  
Hansen, Wash.  
Hardy  
Harris  
Harsha  
Harvey, Ind.  
Hawkins  
Hays  
Hébert  
Herlong  
Hicks  
Holland  
Horton  
Irwin  
Jennings  
Johnson, Okla.  
Karns  
Kee  
Kelly  
Kluczynski  
Landrum  
Leggett  
Lindsay  
Long, Md.  
Love  
McCarthy  
McDowell  
McEwen  
McVicker

Mackie  
Martin, Mass.  
May  
Miller  
Minshall  
Mosher  
Moss  
Multer  
Murphy, N.Y.  
Nedzi  
Nix  
Olsen, Mont.  
O'Neill, Mass.  
Philbin  
Pike  
Pirnie  
Pucinski  
Quillen  
Randall  
Resnick  
Reuss  
Rivers, Alaska  
Rivers, S.C.  
Rogers, Tex.  
Roncallo  
Rooney, Pa.  
Rosenthal  
Rostenkowski  
Roush  
Ryan  
St Germain  
St. Onge  
Saylor  
Schisler  
Schmidhauser  
Shipley  
Steed  
Stephens  
Thomas  
Thompson, N.J.  
Toll  
Waggonner

Watkins  
Watson  
Welner  
Whalley

Whitten  
Williams  
Willis  
Wilson, Bob

Wilson,  
Charles H.  
Wolf  
Zablocki

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Moss with Mr. Fino.  
Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Horton.  
Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania with Mr. McEwen.  
Mr. St Germain with Mr. Barrett.  
Mr. Boland with Mr. Gurney.  
Mr. Long of Maryland with Mr. Harsha.  
Mr. Karth with Mr. Ellsworth.  
Mr. Schisler with Mr. Thomas.  
Mr. Steed with Mr. Holland.  
Mr. Stephens with Mr. Irwin.  
Mr. Hébert with Mr. Nedzi.  
Mr. Weltner with Mr. Olsen of Montana.  
Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Ryan.  
Mr. Abernethy with Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma.  
Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Dulski.  
Mr. Shipley with Mr. Evans.  
Mr. Love with Mr. Reuss.  
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Hanna.  
Mr. Grabowski with Mr. Nix.  
Mr. Philbin with Mr. Fraser.  
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Brown of California.  
Mr. Gialmo with Mr. Culver.  
Mr. Farnsley with Mr. Schmidhauser.  
Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Mackie.  
Mr. Willis with Mr. Randall.  
Mr. Gray with Mr. Bonner.  
Mr. Whitten with Mr. Kee.  
Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Roush.  
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Adams.  
Mr. Conyers with Mrs. Hansen of Washington.  
Mr. Wolff with Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin.  
Mr. Toll with Mr. Conable.  
Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Bob Wilson.  
Mr. Celler with Mr. Brown of Ohio.  
Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Halpern.  
Mr. McVicker with Mr. Cahill.  
Mr. Multer with Mr. Lindsay.  
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Hall.  
Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Pirnie.  
Mr. Fogarty with Mr. Quillen.  
Mr. St. Onge with Mr. Bates.  
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Curtin.  
Mr. Diggs with Mr. Harvey of Indiana.  
Mr. Hardy with Mr. Brock.  
Mr. Hays with Mr. Bow.  
Mr. Zablocki with Mr. Broomfield.  
Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Cleveland.  
Mr. Miller with Mr. Minshall.  
Mr. McDowell with Mr. Whalley.  
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.  
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Chamberlain.  
Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Watkins.  
Mr. Jennings with Mr. Frelinghuysen.  
Mr. Hicks with Mr. Cramer.  
Mr. Rogers of Texas with Mr. Watson.  
Mr. Pike with Mr. Bray.  
Mr. Roncallo with Mr. Mosher.  
Mr. Rosenthal with Mr. Dickinson.  
Mr. Colmer with Mr. Griffin.  
Mr. Cooley with Mr. Cunningham.  
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Betts.  
Mr. Harris with Mr. Devine.  
Mr. Rivers of Alaska with Mr. Saylor.  
Mr. Casey with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.  
Mr. Carey with Mr. Gubser.  
Mr. Rivers of South Carolina with Mrs. May.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.  
The doors were opened.  
Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask

unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the Record on the subject of the resolution just passed.  
The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

## CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 146 I was recorded absent. I was present when my name was called and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the rollcall be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

*DR* *WH* *Laird*  
THE DOMINICAN CRISIS

(Mr. LAIRD (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, in a series of recent newspaper columns, the noted Columnist Ralph de Toledano explored in depth the events and circumstances that led up to the crisis in the Dominican Republic.

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read the entire analysis in one package, I ask under unanimous consent that the articles by Mr. de Toledano be inserted in the Record at this point.

The articles referred to follow:

[From King Features Syndicate, Inc., May 7, 1965]

THE REAL STORY OF THE DOMINICAN CRISIS—I  
(By Ralph de Toledano)

Very reluctantly, the press has begun to recognize that the crisis in the Dominican Republic is Castro-Communist in inspiration and leadership. Even the flat declaration by President Lyndon Johnson that the United States had to move in order to prevent a repetition of the Cuba tragedy has been met by knowing smirks on the part of a few press pundits here.

The true story of the Dominican revolt, the steps that led to it, and the background of ignorance and perfidy which set the stage remains untold. From unimpeachable sources, some of which must remain unidentified in this account, I have pieced together this frightening story. It is being set down here because public knowledge may strengthen the President's hand and prevent another Cuba-type deception on the American people.

Point No. 1 in this sordid tale is the fact that the United States came within inches of repeating the same terrible mistakes which led to the installation of a Communist regime 90 miles from the American coast.

This account begins with the overthrow of the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and the eventual election of Dr. Juan Bosch to the presidency. From the start of Dr. Bosch's political ascendancy, the same groupings within the State Department which had suppressed Fidel Castro's Communist and terrorist past insisted that the Dominican politician, though a leftwinger, was anti-Communist. This argument was used when there were protests over the open espousal of the Bosch candidacy by the Kennedy administration and the State Department.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

June 21, 1965

After Juan Bosch became President, U.S. intelligence agencies began to receive ominous reports. It was determined that President Bosch's right-hand man was a Communist apparatchik. Arms were being smuggled into the country from Cuba and distributed to the Communist underground. A special militia was organized under the direction of Bosch's Red lieutenants. And a pro-Castro guerrilla army began making raids in the countryside.

For 7 months, prodemocratic and pro-United States Dominican leaders pleaded with U.S. representatives. They wanted the Kennedy administration to use its good offices with President Bosch, to warn him that further submission to the Castroites would not be sanctioned by the United States. To this, the State Department answered that this country could not interfere. Dr. Bosch, the middle echelon team told the press, was simply allowing leftwing parties to exercise their civil liberties.

That one of those parties—the June 14 movement, named after the date on which an invading force from Cuba had attempted a landing in Trujillo's state—was led by Castro-trained activists and financed by Communist Cuba was not made known.

Finally, a military junta took matters into its own hands. To prevent what was clearly in the works—a Communist takeover—the junta overthrew the Bosch regime on September 25, 1963. The Kennedy administration immediately withdrew its military and foreign aid missions and cut off all Alliance for Progress funds. For 3 months, the new Government, inheriting the shaky finances of Bosch's incompetence and cut off from American help, slid downhill. Simultaneously, the Castroite guerrillas flourished. The State Department's middle echelon appeared unconcerned, but sudden panic at the White House led President Johnson, new to the job, to restore American aid.

The path ahead for the new junta, led by the Scottish-Dominican Donald Reid Cabral, was not an easy one. Juan Bosch, who had fled to Puerto Rico, agitated for his return to power. His agents moved back and forth between San Juan and Santo Domingo. All pretense at disassociation from the Communists was dropped—and Angel Mielan, a leader of Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), was careless enough to be arrested on American soil carrying Communist documents.

Quiet requests from Reid Cabral and the junta that Juan Bosch be asked to settle elsewhere, rather than on an island so close to the Dominican Republic, were ignored. Charges that Bosch and the PRD were actively plotting the overthrow of Reid Cabral were filed and forgotten when it became known that the former Dominican president had the support and protection of Puerto Rico's eccentric Governor Luis Muñoz-Marin.

At the same time, the Dominican Republic's military junta was urged to encourage "free political activity"—a beautiful sounding slogan which in reality meant readmitting the Communists of various shades and allegiances who had flourished under Juan Bosch.

It was at this time that the seeds of the present Castroite revolt were planted by Dr. Bosch's PRD under the local leadership of Angel Mielan, in a "united front" with Castroite, Soviet Communist, and Chinese Communist subversive movements.

[From King Features Syndicate, May 9, 1965]

## THE REAL STORY OF THE DOMINICAN CRISIS—II

(By Ralph de Toledano)

American refusal to look communism in the eye planted the seeds for the present Dominican revolt. This refusal led to the withdrawal of U.S. support for the Dominican Republic at a critical time in its political

and economic development. How the United States permitted subversive and pro-Communist forces to use its own soil to plot against a friendly neighbor remains one of the unexplained pieces in the Dominican jigsaw.

That the action was planned in Puerto Rico can hardly be denied. While Donald Reid Cabral, head of the junta governing the Dominican Republic, was improving the island's economy, ridding it of corrupt generals and other officials, and preparing for a free election this September, the forces of subversion were busily plotting their revolt. Ousted leftist President Juan Bosch was spending large sums in newspaper ads and in taped radio broadcasts attacking the Reid Cabral government.

In June 1964 Bosch publicly predicted "a violent revolution from within by those who are not permitted to make a gradual revolution." This was the signal for an assault on the military barracks at Victoria. Exploding bombs killed 10 people and maimed 111 others. The attackers fled to the campus of a nearby university where they were given asylum as students. Seven strikes against the Government led by Communist-led labor groups shook the Government. The Castroite June 14 Party agitated openly for revolution. The National Students Federation, affiliated with Castro's student international, openly espoused the guerrilla cause and led bloody strikes against academic authorities, ostensibly in protest against entrance examinations which were characterized as serving the Yankee imperialist oligarchy.

Efforts by the U.S. Immigration Service to block the traffic between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic were swiftly blocked by the administration of Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín. The Central Intelligence Agency, aroused by the reports of its operatives, sought to mobilize some sentiment in Washington for the Reid Cabral government. Whether the matter was taken up by the National Security Council is a question wrapped in the enigma of executive privilege.

Certainly, the State Department's middle echelon was aware that Bosch's PRD had entered into a working arrangement with the Moscow-Communist Popular Socialist Party (PSP), the Peiping-dominated Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), and the Castroite June 14 Party. Angel Mielan, leading Bosch's PRD in this coalition, claimed that his party, the largest, would not be run by the others. But since his allegiance was to the Communist bloc, his assertions were simply window dressing for naive Americans.

In the days before the revolt, intelligence sources were aware that a Communist junta had been organized to rule the united front. At the same time, there were stirrings in Puerto Rico which indicated that Juan Bosch was preparing a return to the Dominican Republic at the head of his allies.

The names of the members of the unofficial junta were well known to Latin American experts in Washington. They included Manuel Gonzalez, representing the Soviet Communist Party; Carlos Dore, a PSP Communist and activist in the Dominican Student Federation; Hector Florentino, head of Fraza, a Communist student organization; and Daniel Ozuma, of the Castroite June 14 Party. Activists trained in Cuba and in Czechoslovakia, where the international Red conspiracy maintains special camps for this purpose, began infiltrating the Dominican Republic. Some of them entered openly, unopposed by a government trying hard to prove to Washington that it was not repressive.

In typical Castro style, the Red junta began making alliances with disaffected military men. These were not hard to find. The Reid Cabral junta had mercilessly rooted out graft in the armed forces. Ambition also played a part among those military leaders who saw themselves losing in-

fluence in an increasingly representative government.

When the revolt broke out, on April 24, the Communists and their military allies passed out guns and ammunition to street mobs and robber gangs. Juvenile delinquents, some as young as 12 and 14, were also given weapons. From the very start, the Communists were in control. The Bosch party, hardly protesting its "democratic" nature, went along.

From the very start of the tragedy, the developing facts were known. At any time, the revolt might have been nipped in the bud—had there been the will to do so among the boys of "Foggy Bottom." The intervention by President Johnson came at the 11th hour. Another few days and the Dominican Republic would have joined the roster of America's enemies. Only the U.S. Marines stand between us and that eventuality.

[From the King Features Syndicate, May 10, 1965]

## THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND A SUICIDAL INSTINCT

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Dr. Juan Bosch, Castroism's patsy in the Caribbean, has compared U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic to the rape of Budapest by rampaging Soviet troops. Dr. Bosch has even harsher words to say about this country and its Government, though he is remarkably gentle when discussing Communist dictatorships. Even friends like Dr. Jaime Benitez, chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, condemn Dr. Bosch for his "reluctance to come out frankly and categorically and reject communism and Castroism."

Yet hearts are bleeding for Juan Bosch tonight among some of the intellectuals. Not only are they dragging out the discredited and hoary argument that by opposing communism we feed the rightwing reactionaries, but they are weeping in their beer because President Johnson has been, to them, foolish enough to believe that "a few dozen Communists" could take over the Bosch revolution. While they weep, Dr. Bosch, in violation of Federal law, directs the activities of this Communist Castroite rebellion by long distance phone from American soil.

The argument that only a "few dozen" could take over the Bosch revolution has been advanced seriously by the New York Times, a newspaper whose correspondent, Herbert Matthews, sold Washington and the country on the sterling democracy and anti-communism of Fidel Castro. At the time that Castro was being glorified in the New York Times, there were only a handful of Communists running a small revolt in the Sierra Maestra Mountains. A relative handful of Communists took over the Russian Revolution and destroyed the Kerensky regime which Lenin himself had described as the "freest in the world."

And from all sides, at this critical moment in our history, organized punditry has begun a sustained assault on the new American policy of opposing communism rather than sheepishly making accommodations which weaken us and strengthen our enemies. President Johnson's present determination must, the pundits feel, be sapped and weakened by a campaign of breast-beating and phoney rhetoric. Harry S. Truman, who demonstrated his courage in the Korean crisis, must feel strongly for the President today.

The mountains of evidence, proving beyond a peradventure of a doubt that the Dominican revolt was Communist inspired and Communist directed, continue to pile up. The administration has belatedly issued a list of names and a chronology of the revolt which can hardly be brushed aside by reasonable men. This chronology is too kind to the rebels since it still insists that the Communists took over after the outbreak of

June 21, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

13639

hostilities. But this fact is belied by the administration's account itself, so there is no point in belaboring it.

Why, then, do grown men continue to misrepresent or misinterpret known facts? Why do they strive so passionately to prove that this country is in the wrong when it takes self-evident measures of self-preservation? It is a question that is asked over and over by Americans who do not have the benefit of long immersion in the ideological steam baths of Washington, New York, and the other urban areas of disaffection.

The answer has been repeatedly offered by such brilliant diagnosticians of our political diseases as James Burnham. Long before him, Karl Marx had predicted that in the destruction of Western society there would be considerable help from well-meaning people who would by a kind of osmosis unconsciously turn to the support of Communist causes.

Mr. Burnham has seen it as the manifestation of a suicidal instinct among Western intellectuals and businessmen—the kind of instinct which sends the lemming on his march to the sea, and to death. Marx saw it as the manifestation of a massive guilt sense. Both aspects of the problem are perceptible in the reaction to the Dominican crisis.

At the same time, there is a certain element of intellectual dishonesty involved in the state of mind under discussion. If organized punditry said frankly: "Yes, the Dominican revolt was engineered by Communists and would have established another Kremlin-Peiping outpost in the Caribbean—but U.S. intervention is wrong under any circumstances," this would at least state a case.

Instead, the issue is completely confused by arguments, charges, and claims designed to "prove" that the immutable evidence just doesn't exist. Castrolites and Communists are painted as inconsequential or harmless. The "sins" of the anti-Communists become the subject of discussion—as if an ardent integrationist should insist that a Soviet landing in Mississippi should not be resisted because the State has a bad record on civil rights.

The issue in the Dominican Republic, and in Vietnam, for that matter, is survival—and only someone ready to leap off a bridge would see it in any other way.

[May 19, 1965]

CRISIS IN LATIN AMERICA—THE FIRST PHASE  
CONTINUES

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Captured documents and highly secret reports in the hands of the Central Intelligence Agency show very clearly that the crisis in the Dominican Republic was merely the first on a long Communist timetable for the takeover of Latin America.

President Johnson's energetic, though 11th-hour, moves to stop the Communist-run, attempted coup d'etat of Juan Bosch may have forced a change in plans for the Moscow-Peiping-Havana axis. But the crisis is far from over, even in Santo Domingo. There are small signs disturbing observers both here and in the Caribbean that the Johnson administration is giving up the high ground it gained by acting forthrightly—to the astonishment of the rest of the world.

It is no secret here that the State Department's middle echelon, protesting all along that the Bosch rebel movement was not Communist-dominated, still would like to see the Dominican ex-President back in power. Those same groupings within State which gave Fidel Castro his start fought bitterly to save Senor Bosch when he was alienating his own people by giving the Communists a free hand in the Dominican Republic.

They are now arguing behind the scenes that U.S. support of the anti-Communist

junta now battling the Bosch rebels should not be too strongly supported by us—and that there should be some kind of compromise, some deal, to bring the two sides together. This would be catastrophic, for the rebels could claim a victory, and Communist elements, working from within the coalition, could subvert it to their own advantage.

Unless the Communist rebellion is put down and pro-Western leaders allowed to continue at the job of reconstructing the Dominican Government and economy, the Communist timetable (with some minor changes) will once more prove accurate.

Highly reliable sources here point out that the Bosch rebellion was part of a stepped-up campaign against all of Latin American countries. The chief targets, after the Dominican Republic, are Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala. According to secret CIA reports to the Congress, some \$10 million has poured out of Castro Cuba and into the hands of Communist guerrillas in those countries and in Panama, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Peru.

Ten million dollars may not seem to be much in these days of \$100 billion budgets. But in Latin America, and employed for guerrilla and other subversive activities, it is a very large sum. It does not include, moreover, other substantial sums from Moscow and Peiping which not only lend-lease treason to Cuba but lavishly support their own activities in the political underworld.

The proof of that—if any is needed—came to light when three couriers were arrested in Caracas carrying \$330,000 for the use of Communist plotters seeking to assassinate President Leonel and overthrow the legitimate Government of Venezuela. This sum was for a single operation, and can be multiplied many times in that country and others of Latin America. The money had traveled from Moscow to Prague, from Prague to Rome, and from Rome to Caracas, with Italian Communists working the last stretch.

As this writer has previously noted, the Communists in Colombia have used a technique of kidnapping to raise funds and to terrorize the countryside. These kidnappings have averaged two to three every week. Now the guerrillas, having built up large caches of arms, have begun to distribute them to bands of desperados and other outlaws that have preyed on the rural population for years.

The use of bandits to aid in creating a revolutionary situation is standard operating procedure among Communists. The father of Communist terrorism, a Russian named Nechayev, laid out the rules in the 19th century. Lenin developed them, and Stalin—once a bank robber—put them into practice. It is significant that when the Bosch revolt broke out, party activists in Santo Domingo immediately armed the street gangs.

If the Dominican crisis is brought to a successful end, with the Communist thoroughly defeated and discredited, the Moscow-Peiping-Havana axis will suffer in the rest of Latin America. If it is allowed the smallest vestige of victory, then the large groups of activists from 10 Latin countries now training in Cuba—according to CIA reports—will be sent out. New "classes" will be begun and the tragic, crisis-strewn road will become endless.

[From King Features Syndicate, May 28, 1965]

## AFTER THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—PUERTO RICO?

(By Ralph de Toledano)

The forces of "compromise" are passionately at work to bring the Dominican crisis to an inconclusive settlement—the kind of result which will snatch victory from those jaws of defeat for the Juan Bosch cabal and its Communist allies. That is the news as this is written, although it may change before the morrow.

But communism and its activists never sleep. Already there are plans for a new onslaught on the soft underbelly of the United States—should Santo Domingo succumb to the tender mercies of a coalition government.

From very reliable sources comes the report that the next target is Puerto Rico, a Commonwealth attached to the United States by ties of history, politics, and economic self-interest. For many years, the Reds and a handful of addeled nationalists have called for Puerto Rican independence. Neither the insular government nor the man in the street has had very much interest in any such eventuality, but the Red and their allies have shouted loudly for a freedom which would only spell economic calamity and political chaos.

The chances for real trouble on the island began when Fidel Castro made Cuba a Communist outpost. Infiltration and propaganda began almost simultaneously. The movement attained respectability when former Dominican President Juan Bosch was given asylum in Puerto Rico by Gov. Luis Munoz Martin and immediately abused it by using his home as a base for subversive action—in consort with the Reds—against the Reid Cabral government in Santo Domingo.

Jaime Benitez, chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, and a controversial character in his own right—"who was that Bobby Baker I saw you with last night?"—became a spokesman for Senor Bosch, as well as President Johnson's representative in the cease-fire negotiations in Santo Domingo. He gave the independentistas a respectability they had never known.

Even without this help, the Castro-Communist onslaught on Puerto Rico has been no joke. Though the American press has almost studiously ignored events on the island, much has gone on. Puerto Rico, for one, has been given high priority by Castro's General Directorate of Intelligence (DGI). This agency for espionage and revolution is run by a half dozen Soviet specialists, all trained in the best schools of guerrilla warfare that the Kremlin can afford.

The DGI, since 1961, has been sending agents into Puerto Rico from Cuba. One Congressman puts the number at more than a thousand, though it is known that all of them have not remained on the island. (There are bigger and better targets in mainland United States, like the Statue of Liberty.) Many of these agents are Puerto Ricans who were already in training in Czechoslovakia and in Russia.

The American Security Council, which has kept an eye on these doings, reported recently on the work of these professional subversives:

"Castro's DGI is working in concert with Puerto Rican Communists and splinter factions of the Puerto Rican independence movement, accelerating their attacks against the social and governmental structure of the island. Since 1961, a number of Castro-supplied arms caches have been uncovered. Gun battles have been fought between the police and insurrectionists. Castro agents have infiltrated both exile and student groups, their purpose being to stimulate the kind of rioting which would require armed intervention . . . . When the (United Nations) General Assembly convenes again, there is little doubt that agitation and propaganda will be stepped up in New York and San Juan, with the possibility of more violent actions erupting in Puerto Rico."

Violence on the island will be a signal for the U.N. committee on anticolonialism—which has already placed a demand for Puerto Rican independence on the U.N. agenda, in violation of the charter—to beat the drums for American withdrawal from a territory that is an integral part of the

13640

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

June 21, 1965

United States. The precedent was set in the Algerian crisis when what was a part of Metropolitan France received support as a nation in its own right.

If the Puerto Rican newspaper, *El Mundo*, is correct and some 12,000 puertorriquenos have received training in Cuba, then the fat will be in the fire. Only a categorical defeat of the rebels in Santo Domingo can completely forestall this probability.

[From King Feature Syndicates, May 26, 1965]

# STOP-AND-GO DIPLOMACY IS HURTING THE U.S. CAUSE

(By Ralph de Toledano)

In politics, diplomacy, and love, there is a rule that if it becomes necessary to do something unpleasant or unpopular, it's best done quickly, decisively, and gotten over with. This is a rule that Hamlet never learned. By the time he had finished with his stepfather, Denmark was strewn with corpses.

Lyndon Johnson has always been aware of this since his days as Senate majority leader. He has followed this rule in the arena of domestic policy. But in foreign policy, a field which is relatively new for him, he has tended to operate on a stop-and-go basis. This has not enhanced his reputation for caution and it has complicated the American position in the world of nations.

Much of the present trouble in the Dominican Republic is due to this stop-and-go approach. From the moment of intervention, it was clear that there would be a hullabaloo among the more vocal of the homegrown dissenters and by the critics of the United States in Latin America, Europe, and points north, east, south, and west. It was absolutely necessary for President Johnson to order that intervention. Another Castro-Communist state in the Caribbean would have been a catastrophe.

The President, however, moved uncertainly. Had he sent the Marines and paratroopers in to stabilize the situation as quickly as possible, the shooting match would be over. Lives would have been spared and the paralysis of the Dominican economy prevented. Those who are now bedeviling us from the United Nations or from other capitals would have nothing left to scream about. By now, only the diehards would still be talking. The more practical politicians would realize that you can't unmake an omelet; they would be turning to other campaigns of yelp and vilification.

Instead, the administration has acted tentatively and with an occasional lack of candor. Troops were landed and wheeled into position. They began the necessary clean-up, then were told to halt while the President seemed to show an atypical indecisiveness. The United States seemed to be working at a compromise, as if this were possible when dealing with Communist-dominated revolutionary movements.

In this period of backing and filling, the fighting has continued, the situation has remained chaotic, and the critics of the United States have had a chance to build up their propaganda offensive so that it has begun to hurt us seriously. The tentative approach has made matters worse rather than better. An action quickly executed would have won some grudging admiration and some loud walls, but the worst of the tumult would now be over.

The net effect of the President's seeming timidity, after taking a courageous step, has been to involve us in the Florentine machinations of the Organization of American States, the United Nations, and every ambitious politician in the parliaments of Europe.

What is true of the Dominican Republic is doubly true of Vietnam. Relief at the President's reversal of policy and his acquiescence to Pentagon suggestions that

the U.S.-created Communist sanctuary in North Vietnam be struck from the air have made many Americans forget that the Kennedy policy of go with too little and then stop aggravated the situation in southeast Asia. Had there been the kind of command decisions now being made by the White House, the guerrilla and regular army operations of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese would have been brought under control long ago.

The bombing of Communist North Vietnam has not brought any counter moves by Red China or the Soviet Union. There would have been even less of a flutter had this country acted when the Vietcong had not a ghost of a chance. Instead we muddled about with South Vietnamese policy, riade and broke governments, and showed that we really didn't know what we wanted to do. This was wonderful news to the Communists who are now rubbing their wounds, watching military defeat move in on them, and foreseeing new and added difficulties in their guerrilla onslaught on southeast Asia.

If the President has gained in experience what he lost in time, then the events of the past years will be a net gain. If he holds to the stop-and-go approach—one condition by the State Department—then this country is in for trouble.

[King Features Syndicate, Inc., June 4, 1965]

# STATE DEPARTMENT CONTINUES TO WORK FOR BOSCH

(By Ralph de Toledano)

For reasons best known to himself, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has gone out of his way to create the impression that United States intervention in the Dominican Republic was a hasty and unjustified action. Mr. Rusk, of course, knows better—or he has been keeping his head buried in the sand.

In a press conference much quoted by those who would undercut President Johnson's policies, Mr. Rusk stated quite clearly that the marines and paratroopers had been sent into Santo Domingo as the result of a single message from the U.S. Ambassador there. This is, on the public record, not true, and it ignores the mountains of information supplied to the State Department and the National Security Council by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Intelligence reports that expose Communist perfidy have, we saw in the case of Cuba, a tendency to disappear before they reach high level officials. But in the case of the Dominican crisis, the facts were in the hands of both Secretary Rusk and President Johnson 100 days before the White House ordered intervention.

In order to make the President's action seem like a case of shooting from the hip—and to confuse matters so that only the most devoted scanner of factual material can really know what went on before and is going on now—a whole mythology has been created of what presumably went on between April 24, when the actual trouble began, and April 29, when we moved.

It has been necessary to paint the rebellion as a reaction to the "reactionary" policies of Donald Reid Cabral, the Dominican leader, and General Elias Wessin y Wessin, who has been made into the ambitious villain of the piece.

The plain facts are as follows: on April 24, Reid Cabral had sent his army chief of staff to fire two officers for graft and corruption. The chief of staff was instead arrested by rebels. General Wessin, instead of moving to crush what was then a small mutiny, tried to act as mediator between the rebels and Reid Cabral. The rebels refused to budge, and General Wessin still held off. "We don't want bloodshed," he told Senor Reid Cabral. "It would be better if you resigned." Even after the rebels had indicated

that they were pushing for a full-scale civil war, General Wessin offered to set up a military junta with them, if they would agree to free elections within 90 days. The rebels refused.

From that point on, the rebellion was taken over completely by Communist activists. Those naive members of Dr. Juan Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party who believed that he was interested in restoring a leftwing democratic regimen took asylum in the embassies of other Latin American countries.

Meanwhile, as eyewitnesses have described, the Communists began distributing weapons—some of them Soviet made—to the "turbas" or street gangs. Looting, rape, and indiscriminate killing became the order of the day. Communists in control of the radio station broadcast the names of Cuban refugees from Castro and urged that they be liquidated.

Oddly enough, the ambitious and reactionary General Wessin still had not moved to crush the rebellion. In fact, the national police, under the Reid Cabral regime, began to free political prisoners, including Communists, who immediately joined in the blood-letting. Finally, there was real counteraction by the government against the rebels. As Paul Bethel, editor of the liberally slanted *Free Cuba News*, puts it: "By Tuesday night, April 27, the PRO Party of Juan Bosch had been defeated militarily by the Dominican armed forces and absorbed politically by its Communist colleagues."

If Bosch, making safely defiant noises from the safety of Puerto Rico, was finished, the Communists were not. In full control of the rebellion and working through their puppet—the until-then obscure Lieutenant Colonel Caamano—they had created utter anarchy in Santo Domingo.

On April 28, a military junta, which had taken over from Donald Reid Cabral, formally asked the United States for "temporary intervention," pleading that it could no longer guarantee the safety of Americans and other foreign residents. As a result of this desperate plea, which only confirmed what Central Intelligence Agency reports had been informing the White House and the State Department, the marines were sent in.

For a brief time, it looked as if the United States would take its thumb out of its mouth and act like a grownup nation. The rebels fell back and the dominant loyalist forces could have mopped up in a matter of days. But President Johnson, beset by the neo-isolationist and appeasement wings of his party and assailed by college professors, began to worry.

Now the Organization of American States is trying to create a coalition government which will include the instigators of the rebellion and their Communist allies. The United Nations is trying to take over and make the mess even messier, and the quick and healthy solution that was in our grasp seems impossible of achievement. The myth makers are busily at work and it can almost be predicted that in a matter of weeks millions of Americans will believe that the Castroite rebellion was a democratic uprising, defeated by President Johnson's Fascist advisers.

# SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 22

(Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on April 14, 1965, the Illinois State Senate passed Senate Joint Resolution 22, which I place in the Record at this point as part of my remarks.